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ABSTRACT

A traffic incident in April of 1975 developed into an unprecedented civil rights demonstration by Chinese residents in New York City's Chinatown in May of that year. This paper attempts to trace the factors which led to this large scale demonstration and analyze the development of decision making in this case. The demonstration was the result of accusations of police brutality toward Peter Yew, a witness to the traffic incident, and of frustration on the part of Chinatown residents in later dealings with the police department. An estimated 10,000 Chinatown inhabitants participated in an orderly but boisterous demonstration at City Hall. As a result of the demonstration the police commissioner met with representatives of the Chinese population. An agreement was reached which included promises of no further police harrassment, the transfer of the Chinatown precinct commanding officer, a reduction of charges against Peter Yew, no police interference in the judicial processing of Yew's case, the hiring of more Chinese in city government jobs, and the rescinding of all cuts in funds designated for Chinatown. The demonstration solidified, at least for a time, the apathetic and divided Chinese residents of Chinatown whose welfare has long been neglected. (MK)

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"A CHINAMAN'S CHANCE IN CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION: A CASE STUDY"

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I. INTRODUCTION

A glance at many riots which took place in either urban cities or rural settings in this country during the past few years would immediately reveal that most of the riots, as a pattern, stemmed from police brutality or the shooting incidents in which the victims happened to be minority members. An example can be found in Elizabeth, New Jersey, when Spanish-speaking people rioted on June 18, 1975 as a result of an arrest of a Spanish-speaking baker by the city police in a minor traffic incident. There is, however, a minority, i.e., Chinese-American which has been, thus far, excepted from this riot-related pattern. The Chinese-American minority, due to the fact that they had experienced suppression and persecution in the 19th century especially on the West coast and that they did not constitute any visible statistical force to be reckoned with, have long remained a silent group. In the past, quite a few shooting incidents did occur in Chinatowns on East and West coasts. For examples, the incidents which took place in 1973 and 1974 and left two Chinese dead in New York's Chinatown did not seriously stir the Chinese community or provoke any disturbances.[1] However, a small traffic incident of April 26, 1975 which fortunately and as usual did not lead to riot had eventually developed into an unprecedented civil rights demonstration by some Chinese residents in Chinatown of New York on May 19, 1975. This paper will, therefore, attempt to trace and analyze the factors which led to this large scale demonstration and the development of decision-making in this case. An assessment of this demonstration will also be made.

II, THE FUSE

On April 26, 1975, it was just another usual hustling and bustling day for Chinatown of New York City. People trouped to the already congested streets of Chinatown in search for various satisfactions to either their gastronomical needs or plain curiosity. In a narrow corner of two one-way streets, two motorists, one Chinese and the other white, exchanged angry remarks as the white driver's car was blocked by the Chinese motorist's double-parked automobile. As their arguments got more heated, the frustrated white driver began to bump his car twice into the Chinese driver's car. The Chinese driver who might have felt that the Chinese on-lookers were rendering him their support as well as encouragement was not hesitant to return the same number of bumps to the white driver's car. Realizing that the Chinese on-looking crowd was hissing hostilely at him, the white driver attempted to drive away from the scene and in doing so, several Chinese on-lookers were brushed aside. His action angered more Chinese on-lookers and they pursued him to the Fifth Precinct police station which is situated just around the corner from where the incident occurred. Apparently to seek protection and to file a complaint, the white motorist dashed into the police station. Moments after, on-duty police officers came out to disperse the crowd. Some of the crowd later alleged that they were pushed violently and one child was knocked down by the police officers. Peter Yew, an architectural engineer who happened to be among the crowd was reported to have shouted "Don't push like that" at the policemen's rough action in dispersing the crowd.[2] The confrontation between Yew and the police officers thus began. Both sides claimed that it was the other side

who attacked first. Yew, however, was taken under custody and charged by the police.

One on-looker, Mr. Moi, immediately notified the President of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (hereafter CCBA), Mr. Man Bun Lee, who always acts in the capacity of unofficial mayor of Chinatown. When Lee reached the spot, he was not allowed to enter the police station to see Yew. It was only after the intervention of a Chinese interpreter Richard Wong who worked in the police station that Lee was finally permitted to go in and see Yew. Yew was then charged with felonious assault and obstructing governmental administration. He was taken to Beekman Downtown Hospital and was treated for a contusion of the forehead and a sprain on the right wrist. Yew was finally released on bail.

The crowd of on-lookers were apparently angered by the way Yew was treated and handled by the police officers. The sentiment among residents of Chinatown was high and sympathetic feeling was being built up for Yew. What was regarded to have aggravated the tense situation in Chinatown was police's intensifying effort in issuing traffic tickets to local residents.[3] Also, it was reported that after Yew's police burtality incident, there were several more cases of Chinese residents being mistreated or brutalized by the policemen from the Fifth Precinct.[4]

When the emergency session of the Executive Committee of the CCBA met on May 1, Yew's case was the focus of discussion and debates. Many local residents attended this meeting and complained about the police harassment and brutality. The charges of racial discrimination was raised and sentiment was boiled high especially after Peter Yew made his report in person to the

meeting. After much discussion and consideration, it was the consensus of the attendants that first of all, the commanding officer of the 5th Precinct, Captain Edward M. McCabe, was responsible partly for the deterioration of relations between police and the residents of Chinatown for he did not pay any visit to the CCBA when he first assumed office in that precinct. Secondly, the law enforcement authority was to blame for they failed to take any serious action against the police officers who had shot a Chinese resident in December 1974. Thirdly, Captain McCabe's refusal to endorse CCBA's proposal to establish a vigilante for the maintenance of law and order in Chinatown was interpreted as his snobbishness and lacking of care for the community. Fourthly, police officers from the 5th precinct had constantly harassed local residents before and after the Yew's incident. And finally, police brutality towards Peter Yew and racial discrimination against the Chinese were regarded as intolerable.[5] Such being the feeling of the Executive Committee meeting, the meeting attendants decided that a community-wide meeting should be held on May 6 to take further action. Also, a Chinese Against Racial Discrimination Committee was formed in the emergency meeting of the Executive Committee. No mass scale protest demonstration was ever suggested and discussed in the meeting. Most of the action taken during this session consisted of such measures as (i) notifying the City Human Rights Commission of Yew's incident, (ii) taking the case to mayor, police commissioner, president of Manhattan Borough and the City Council, (iii) distributing posters in Chinatown, (iv) petitioning to the government to dismiss the police officers involved in Yew's case.

During the interval, between May 1&6th a young militant group called Asian-American for Equal Employment (hereafter AAFEE) which was formed in 1973 by a group of Japanese-American and Chinese-Americans who considered themselves militant. Their goals are to seek equal employment opportunities for Asian-Fmerican and to fight all kinds of discrimination and injustices against Asian-Americans. This AAFEE had successfully picketed the DeMatteis Construction Company against their job discrimination in the Confucius Plaza construction project. Bolstered by their initial success in fighting job discrimination and attempting to take initiative in civil rights movement in Asian-American community, the leadership of this group seized the opportunity of Yew's incident to drum up community interest in order to stage a large scale protest demonstration. They distributed pamphlets asking for such participation from community residents and listing demands which ranged from complaining of police brutality, racial discrimination to establishing a new junior high school. The idea of staging a large scale protest demonstration of this militant group seemed to have struck an appealing cord among the residents, especially those of younger age. Thus, the idea of organizing a demonstration in support of Yew's case floated around the Chinatown residents and it might have acted as a stimulus which prodded the leadership of the CCBA to entertain more seriously the suggestion that a protest demonstration be staged.[6]

It was not expected by the leadership of Chinatown that there would be a great turn-out of residents at the May 6 community-wide meeting. However, with the community's feeling so high and tense against police brutality, coupled with the consistant urging of residents' to attend the meeting by

the Chinese newspapers, approximately 600 persons appeared at the May 6 meeting. It was certainly an unusual gesture by the Chinese-American who had habitually shunned participation in any community-type meetings. The Executive Committee presented the actions they had adopted on May 1 and asked for their opinion as well as endorsement from the meeting attendants. Actions proposed at the meeting were accepted and adopted. However, as the meeting progressed, sentiment around the issue of police brutality against Yew and racial discrimination which most of them have experienced seemed to have intensified. It was felt that more radical actions should be taken to press their case and get more justice. The call for a demonstration as previously circulated by the AAFEE was proposed and overwhelmingly accepted by the audience. The motion of a demonstration was thus set and the members of AAFEE joined in to coordinate the demonstration which was scheduled on May 12.

The leadership of CCBA was now entrusted with the task of organizing and staging a large scale protest demonstration which they did not see the urgency and immediacy to produce one as such in the first place. Fearing that the proposed demonstration might produce violence or violate city ordinances, the leadership of CCBA decided to go through the proper procedure of applying for a permit to stage the demonstration. Lee and his legal advisors were told that the permit for holding a peaceful demonstration would not be processed soon enough for the event set on May 12. Because of this unexpected delay, Lee and his associates decided to call for an emergency session of the Executive Committee on May 7. The decision to

postpone the May 12 demonstration to May 19 was reached in this meeting despite the vehement opposition from the AAFEE.

Rumors began to circulate among residents of Chinatown that CCBA would not stage any demonstration at all. The China Times reported on May 10, 1975 that CCBA was rumored to have been "bought" by the City Hall.[7] This, however, was denied categorically by Lee who insisted that the delay was simply due to the necessity of applying for a permit for the demonstration. The AAFEE refused to go along with this postponement and was determined to hold the demonstration on May 12 as scheduled by the community-wide meeting of May 6. On May 9, the AAFEE issued a statement arguing that in view of their past experience no permit was necessary to stage a demonstration if it is peaceful and that they had arranged everything needed for the scheduled demonstration on May 12. The statement further pointed out that May 12 demonstration was necessary for it might render support to and express community feeling towards Peter Yew's case which was scheduled to have a preliminary hearing on May 13. They insisted that no delay should be tolerated for delaying tactics had long been used by law enforcement authority against all complaints filed by the residents of Chinatown.

Without the participation of CCBA, which was supposed to represent a wide cross-section of Chinatown, AAFEE went ahead with the scheduled demonstration on May 12. It was the opinion of some members of the CCBA that the AAFEE-sponsored demonstration would attract only a handful of participants. Nevertheless, a crowd of more than 2,500 Chinese turned out at the May 12 demonstration which displayed people of all ages and of different occupations.

Six spokesmen of this demonstration presented several demands which ranged from dropping the charges against Yew to the allocating of promised funds to build a new junior high school 65. The City Hall sent a special mayoral assistant, Joseph Erazo to receive the leaders of the demonstration. This protest movement was widely covered by the news media and had caught the attention of Chinatown residents.

That the AAFEE whose leadership was in the hands of young Japanese-American and Chinese-Americans was able to stage such a spectacular demonstration drawing so many a Chinese resident to the action seemed to have served as a shot in the arm for the CCBA.[8] The officials of CCBA sensed that their leadership in Chinatown had already been threatened and that they seemed to have "lost face" in light of the success of the May 12 demonstration sponsored by a small group of young Asians. Consequently, Lee and his associates felt compelled to call for an emergency session of the Executive committee of CCBA on May 14 to discuss a "plan to hold a large scale demonstration which was scheduled on May 19."[9] Perhaps, it was due to the fact that the CCBA wanted to show that theirs "still was the principal organization in the neighborhood,"[10] hence it was imperative for the CCBA to generate enough interest and enthusiasm among the Chinatown residents in the hope that the May 19 demonstration would not be a failure as compared to the one orchestrated by the AAFEE. On the other hand, the May 14th emergency meeting was called to refute the "derogatory" statement of Mr. McCabe, commanding officer of the Fifth Precinct. Mr. McCabe himself, already a target of the May 12th demonstration, was reported to have told the news media that the May 12th demonstration was essentially provoked by police crackdown on crime

in Chinatown. His statement read, "we have been hitting parking summonses, we have been working on illegal gambling and there may be some resentment because they don't understand why the enforcement was there."[11] McCabe might not have any hidden meaning when he made this statement. Nevertheless, the Chinese residents reacted immediatley and angrily to this statement for they regarded it as an insult to their community. They felt that McCabe's remark had the implication that the average Chinese resident supported criminal activities such as gambling, etc. Angered at McCabe's insulting remarks, the leadership of CCBA felt that they had enough new fuel to add to the already flammable situation of igniting another large demonstration. The May 14th meeting confirmed their determination to hold an even bigger protest demonstration than the one coordinated by the AAFEE. During the meeting, it was agreed that all Chinatown shops should be closed down for at least half a day to show their support for the demonstration and enable

their personnel to participate in the demonstration, Also, they decided to appeal to all residents of Chinatown to show up at the May 19th demonstration. Other organizational details were discussed and approved for implementation.

Now that the May 19th demonstration seemed to have set in motion, their determination and enthusiasm to do so did not subside despite of the fact that McCabe had finally paid CCBA a courtesy visit for the announced purpose of improving communication as well as relationship between the law enforcement officers and Chinatown.[12] McCabe's visit, his very first, of course, was too late to accomplish any goal.

The next few days after the May 14th meeting witnessed the vigorous efforts by the CCBA leadership to drum up enough support in terms of promised attendance in the May 19th demonstration. Chinese students of the City College of New York and other universities devoted much of their time to preparing slogans, writing pamphlets and banners. There was indeed a sense of unity among the residents of Chinatown as far as the demonstration was concerned.

III. THE DEMONSTRATION

In New York City where multi-ethnic groups reside, civil rights or protest demonstrations is a common or almost routine event. Nevertheless, all demonstrations are more or less dominated by Blacks, Italians, Puerto Ricans, and other ethnic minorities. Seldom are there any visible or vociferous demonstration staged by the Chinese-Americans. However, on May 19th, 1975,

people in New York City witnessed for the first time an unprecedented mass scale of protest demonstration by the heretofore silent Chinese minority.

At 9:00 a.m. May 19, 1975 Chinese residents of Chinatown and other parts of the city began to assemble in front of the building of the CCBA. As a response to the appeal of the CCBA, virtually all the shops in Chinatown were closed for the morning, so that merchants and the other personnel could participate in the demonstration. As time passed by, the number of demonstrators grew to fill Mott street where CCBA building was situated. At 9:00 a.m. the demonstrators had to proceed to make rooms for others who kept coming in. The miles-long procession moved peacefully with angry yelling of slogan both in Chinese and English. It was estimated that over 10,000 Chinatown residents turned out in the demonstration.[13] The veteran observers of City Hall demonstrations said it was the "biggest demonstration ever held there by a single ethnic group."[14] Indeed, it was the biggest demonstration. What stunned most of the on-lookers was the fact that not only well-dressed merchants or those who were civil-right-minded marched in the demonstration. Also, many women carrying children, old folks who do not speak English and other elements of the community came out to march, to yell, to shout and to protest. Those timid and obedient people took all the courage to come join the action. The underlying meaning of this phenomenon was that they were too angry to be silent and patient any more. In this demonstration they yelled and shouted to let off century-old pent-up feelings and inhibited sentiments. Despite a few scuffles with the policemen, the demonstrators behaved well to conform to the rules allowed for demonstration. In fact, they seemed to have behaved excessively well inasmuch as they picked up the

trash supposedly left by them or others and refrained from uttering obscene words.

When the demonstrators reached the City Hall, Man Ban Lee, leader of the day's event made a short speech articulating the significance of the demonstration. Many were stunned by such a big turn-out of Chinese demonstrators whose earlier call for a protest demonstration was neutralized quietly by Mayor Abe Beame in January 1974.[15] The City Hall sent First Deputy Mayor James A. Cavanagh and Police Commissioner Michael J. Codd to meet with the delegation of the demonstrators. The Delegation presented to the authority several demands which included dismissing all charges against Yew, ending police harassment against the Chinese community, removing the Fifth Precinct commanding officer Captain McCabe and getting a public apology from him, suspending the police officers who allegedly attacked Yew, rescinding any cuts in funds for Chinatown and hiring more Chinese in city government work. The City Hall representatives promised the delegation that they would consider their demands and would give their due replies on May 23.

Lee and his delegates emerged from the City Hall and tersely told the crowd what they had done with the city officials. The attempt by the AAFEE to turn this moment into an oratorial forum was blocked by Lee and he simply asked the crowd to disperse after their three hours spent in demonstration. Needless to say, the AAFEE leadership were not pleased with the way they were treated by the CCBA. They were not invited to be a part of the delegation to talk to the city officials. Moreover, their list of demands were not fully incorporated into that of the CCBA. The AAFEE leadership was angered and decided to continue their demonstration of the day with their own followers.

This continued demonstration of AAFEE represented more of a challenge to the leadership of CCBA than a protest against the law enforcement authority.

IV. THE RESULTS

Now that the Chinese residents of New York had broken their silence and staged an unprecedented large and boisterous protest demonstration, the city government and the law enforcement officials had to adjust, one way or the other their stereotyped image and hence policy for the Chinese who had just proved that they too could be "militant" and fight back when forced to do so. The immediate response to this demonstration as well as its demands came on May 23rd when Police Commissioner Michael Codds met with the leadership of CCBA. In the conference, Codds expressed his regrets on behalf of all law enforcement officers that the Yew incident happened and that relationship between police officers and the Chinese residents of Chinatown deteriorated. Codds gave his replies to the damands of the CCBA which organized the May 19th demonstration by emphasizing that there would be no more police harassment against any Chinese resident of Chinatown and that Captain McCabe, the commanding officer of the Fifth Precinct would be transferred. As for the dismissal of Yew's charges which had been reduced to misdemeanor level, the police authority could not interfere with the judicial process. Also, the hiring of more Chinese in city government jobs and the rescinding of all funds cut designated to Chinatown, the City Hall would deal with it whenever the budget allows. The delegation left with a feeling of having scored some victories for their May 19th demonstration.

Captain McCabe was finally transferred on May 27th and a new commanding

officer, Captain John Ferriola was named to replace him. Understanding that McCabe, while serving as commanding officer of the Fifth Precinct never paid any visit to the leadership of CCBA, Captain Ferriola lost no time in paying an official visit to them on his first day at work. This unusual gesture of the new commanding officer and his promise in goodwill conversation that there would be better communication as well as understanding henceforth between law enforcement officials and the residents of Chinatown seemingly pleased the leadership of CCBA. They considered this as one of the major victories that their demonstration had scored. Later on, the grand jury announced on July 1 that they had dismissed Yew's case and dropped all charges against him. This decision of the grand jury might have come as a result of the May 19th demonstration or perhaps there was indeed not enough evidence to substantiate the charges. The Chinatown community residents, especially the leadership, however, interpreted this decision of grand jury as proof that their demonstration had eventually yielded effect on the establishment and that Yew was indeed an innocent victim of police brutality.[16] The residents of Chinatown were further pleased by the announcement that the two police officers involved in Yew's case have been indicted by the grand jury and charges were being filed against them.[17]

Indeed, there are some more positive results as produced by this demonstration. As far as communication and services by the law enforcement authority are concerned, several measures have been initiated. These include (i) a new direct line exclusively for all Chinese-speaking people in New York City and handled by Chinese interpreter to facilitate any reporting of crimes as well as requesting assistance by the Chinese; (ii) preparing a list of

community leaders of Chinatown whose assistance would be immediately sought whenever Chinese residents were involved in any cases; (iii) the Police Department will publish a Chinese crime-prevention manual to enable residents to better protect themselves; (iv) more Chinese Policemen will be recruited when the financial situation of the city allows; (v) holding a veries of monthly conferences in which law enforcement officials and residents of Chinatown can have dialogues concerning all spectrums of community problems.

One indirect impact which might have come as a result of the May 19th demonstration is the possibility that the Jade Chalet Restaurant case in which a Chinese by-stander was shot in 1974 by police might be reopened.[18]

Needless to say, the results as produced by the May 19th demonstration are by no means enormous. The demonstrators' demands such as ending of job discrimination, hiring of more Chinese in city government, etc., were not directly dealt with nor given assurances. The AAFEE has already charged that CCBA had been baited by the city administration's delaying tactics.[19] However, for a heretofore silent minority who, as Percy Sutton, President of the Manhattan Borough once remarked "never demanded or requested any thing before,"[20] their assertivesness as examplified in this May 19th demonstration should be regarded as unique. Therefore, whatever replies they could obtain for their demands should be satisfied by them.

The demonstration solidified at least for a moment the apathetic and divisive Chinese residents of Chinatown whose welfare has long been neglected. Some of the Chinese Residents in Chinatown are merchants and never before would they close down their shops for a few hours to participate in any civic activities. However, in this demonstration, they were willing to sacrifice

a few hours which could involve more than thousands of dollars on a usual business day, to express their indignance against the Yew incident and their wholehearted support for the demonstration. Other residents are ordinary workers such as shopkeepers and seamstresses who normally would not sacrifice any hour's wages also turned out in the demonstration and supported Yew's case by contributing big sums of money to Yew's legal fund which received from various sources more than 20,000 dollars in a few days. The old, young, militant, timid, conservative elements of Chinatown seemed to be able to rally together under the banner of the May 19th demonstration. Even the Chinese from other towns and other states flocked to participate in this historic demonstration. The Chinese residents of Chinatown had been alerted to the necessity and effectiveness of such a large scale demonstration. As Man Ban Lee, the President of the CCBA and leaders of this demonstration put it, this demonstration was their first trial and it "opened the door for Chinese to fight for more justice and rights."[21] Indeed, it was the first and large successful demonstration ever organized by the Chinese in the United States. The Blacks and other minorities have long utilized the tactics of demonstration to fight for their rights but not the Chinese. The reporter of El Tempo incisively commented: "The Puerto Ricans who came to New York after the Chinese had long settled down in New York, already knew and had used demonstration as an instrument for their rights. However, the Chinese in New York Chinatown who were not too few in number have been incredibly silent and enduring. Now they have finally awakened and demonstrated to get whatever they are entitled to. It is a little bit late but they have initiated the action which definitely will bring results."[22] Indeed, it is a bit

late but it is certainly not the first time Chinese residents in New York Chinatown staged any protest demonstration. Back in 1968, 4,000 residents of New York Chinatown demonstrated to keep the Fifth Precinct Police Station which was scheduled to close down for economic reasons.[23] Since then, there were several protest demonstrations organized by the residents of New York Chinatown (See Table I). All these demonstrations were, however, on a small scale and thus yielded little result. The May 19th demonstration, triggered off by a trivial matter was able to muster all elements of the community to come to air their grievances in action. They were able to gain substantially from this demonstration. The lesson which the Chinese-American learned from this unique demonstration is simple. That is that they, too, could very effectively and confidently imitate other minorities in channeling their grievances through protest demonstration to achieve their aims. They should realize now that as a minority they have to learn and act as minority within the system in their struggle for more justice and rights.

One more observation can be made from this May 19th demonstration. That is that there now undoubtedly exist two kinds of leadership in New York Chinatown. On the one side, there is a conservative leadership as represented by the CCBA and on the other side, there contrastedly emerges a militant if not radical leadership provided by the AAFEE. The dual existence of community leadership, at least for the time being, seems to have resulted in the complementary effect for Chinatown. The residents of Chinatown are no longer represented by only one source of leadership which has long exhibited such characteristics as conservative and conventional. This sapping if not aging conservative leadership is being rejuvenated by the emergence of youthful and

militant leadership of the AAFEE. Without the stimulus and vociferousness of the AAFEE, the CCBA might not respond quickly to the sentiment of the community. In fact, it is debatable that the leadership of CCBA would resort to a mass protest demonstration to let off their grievances and obtain substantial gains. The civil rights movement of the Blacks would not have advanced and gained so much if the movement is constantly under the only leadership of the NAACP and the Urban League. However, with the stimulus from the Black Panther Party, SNCC, CORE and many other militant groups, the civil rights movement of Blacks took on a new dimension. The conservative and conventional leadership of the NAACP and Urban League had to constantly respond and accordingly react to all stimuli provided by those militant groups and the numerous bloody riots. Some degree of moderation and balance among the black leadership in the civil rights movement have somehow worked their ways out. The establishment have to give considerably more concessions than the conservative leadership had requested in an effort to ward off future violence and dissuade the followers from the leadership generated by the militant groups. As of now, there seems to have this pattern of leadership conflict, contact, interreaction and finally interbalance in Chinatown of New York. It may also appear in other Chinatowns, especially on the West coast. If this pattern of leadership develops and persists, it may be blessings for residents of Chinatown and other Chinese-Americans in their struggle for justice and rights.

V. CONCLUSION

The civil rights movements and tactics of Blacks and other racial minorities have indeed inspiringly taught the Chinese-Americans a vital

NAACP or Urban League for the Chinese-Americans. The May 19th demonstration could just very well be the beacons of the forthcoming civil rights movement for the Chinese-Americans. But they surely do have a long, long way to go.

TABLE I

DEMONSTRATIONS BY THE CHINESE-AMERICAN OF NEW YORK CITY
1968-1975

DATE	TARGETS	CAUSES	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS ESTIMATED
2/22/68	City Government	To protest the closing of the Fifth Precinct police station in Chinatown	4,000
10/28/68	Chinatown-Community	To inform the Chinese-American Community in Chinatown that there was a crisis in education	200
4/10/73	Federal Government	To protest the cutback of Federal support for day-care centers in Chinatown	300
7/15/73	Landlords of Chinatown	To protest the deteriorating conditions of their apartments	18
2/19/74	DeMatteis Organization	To demand Asian-Americans be employed in Confucian Plaza construction project	40
4/15/74	Federal Government	To protest cutback of Federal Funds for community development	2,000
4/25/74	City Government	To demand more Asian-Americans be employed in senior positions within the city government	120
5/17/74	DeMatteis Organization	To demand Asian-Americans be employed in Confucian Plaza construction project	80
5/28/74	City Government	To demand the increase of subsidy of lunches for Chinatown senior citizens	300
6/19/74	Community School Board	To protest the dismissal of Mr. Fuentes as School Superintendent	100
5/19/75	City Government	To protest police brutality and discrimination against Chinese-Americans	15,000
6/9/75	City Board Education	To protest cutback of funds, close down of adult education centers and lay-off of Chinese-American teachers.	150
10/28/75	City Government	To protest closing of the Fifth Precinct policy station in Chinatown	10,000

SOURCES: Information are culled from Chinese-language journals, newspapers of Chinatown and the New York Times as well as the Daily News of New York.

TABLE II

Distribution of Demonstrations by the Chinese-Americans of New York City, 1968-1975

Year	Number of Demonstrations	Number of Participants Estimated
1968	2	4,200
1969	0	0
1970	0	0
1971	0	0
1972	0	0
1973	2	318
1974	6	21,640
1975	3	25,150

NOTE: The year 1974 served as the period when Chinese-Americans began to gear up for actions in demonstration as a means to voice their grievances. But the real action was in 1975 when Chinese-Americans finally recognized the effectiveness of demonstration and fully utilized the means. More people were involved in well-organized mass demonstration with significant results.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association(Chung Hwa Kung So) of New York did discuss the 1974 incident when a Chinese by-stander was shot by the police. However, no action other than letter of protest was sent to the Police Commissioner of New York.

2. As reported by the United Journal (Lian Ha Jit Poh) April 29, 1975. It was also revealed by the City Hall that Yew did shout "Don't push like that" to the on-duty police officers, see the China Times, July 12, 1975.

3. As revealed in the minutes of the May 1, 1975 meeging published in the United Journal of May 3, 1975.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. In a telephone conversation with the officials of the CCBA, it was suggested that the idea of staging a mass protest demonstration might have come from the AAFEE.

7. Reported in the China Times, May 10, 1975.

8. The New York Times, June 8, 1965.

9. As reported in the United Journal of May 16, 1975.

10. It was categorically denied by the leadership of the CCBA, see the China Times, June 10, 1975.

11. The Sunday News, New York, May 25, 1975.

12. As reported by the China Times, May 16, 1975.

13. The Chinese newspapers in Chinatown, New York all reported that it was over twenty thousands Chinese residents who showed up in the demonstration.

14. The China Times, May 21, 1975.

15. The Chinese in New York City wanted more public protection as law and order in New York Chinatown deteriorated seriously and rapidly after Abe Beame became Mayor of the city. To press their case, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association decided to demonstrate in front of the City Hall on January 9, 1974. Mayor Beame personally intervened by promising them more police protection in Chinatown. See the United Journal, January 5, 1974.

16. Man Ban Lee's reaction to Grand Jury's decision was reported in the Chinatown newspapers of New York, see The China Times, July 3, 1975.

17. Reported in The China Times, July 4, 1975.

18. The Police officer who shot the Chinese on-lookers inside the Jade Chalet restaurant in 1974 was not indicted. The Chinatown community of New York was angry at this decision but they took no action to either protest or seek legal remedy. The decision of reopening the case was reported in the China Times, June 16, 1975.

19. The New York Times, May 20, 1975.

20. See Yawscon Sim, "Chinese-Americans and Bananas: An Analysis of Their Identity Crisis and Militancy," International Review of History and Political Science, February 1975, Vol. XII, No. 1, p. 26.

21. As reported by the United Journal, May 21, 1975.

22. El Tempo is the Spanish language newspaper in New York City. The remark of the reporter was translated and pbulished in the United Journal, May 27, 1975.

23. The New York Times, February 22, 1968.